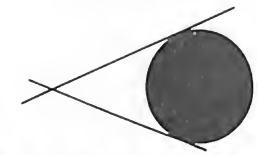


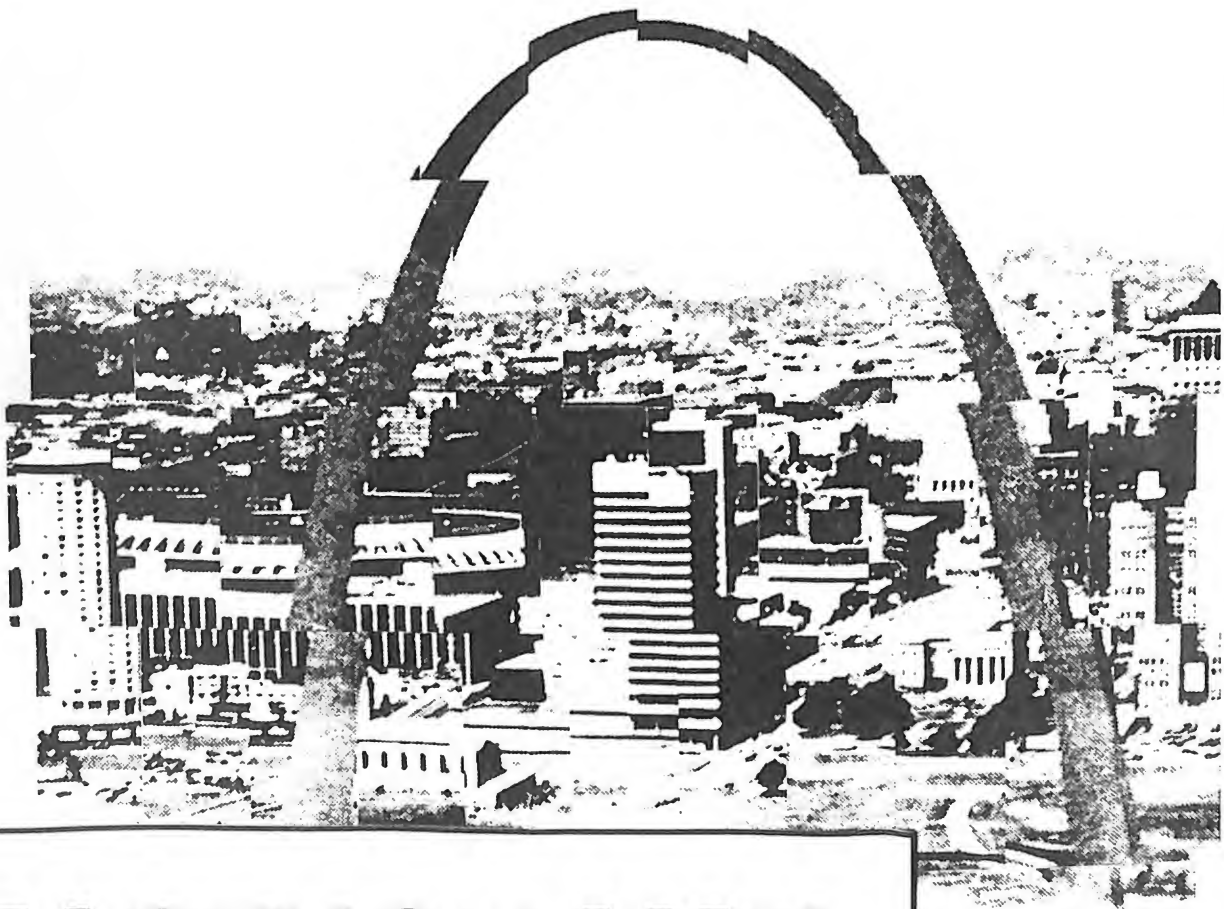
Volume 15, Number 94 \$1.25



Chicago's Fiscal Follies

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MIDWEST



EARTHQUAKE!

—Special update, page 18



out of focus

*Readers are invited to submit
items for publication,
indicating whether
the sender can be identified.
Items must be fully documented
and not require any comment.*

ENTITLEMENTS The same Reagan advisors who dream up schemes such as taxing unemployment benefits, are notable beneficiaries of various entitlements. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger enjoys a private 60-seat dining room staffed by 18 waiters and chefs. Secretary of State George Schultz and two assistants each enjoy private dining rooms. The executive branch has 22 executive dining rooms. The tab for 82 percent of the bill or \$2.3 million, says Sen. William Proxmire (D. Wis.), was paid by taxpayers.

In These Times, Dec. 7, 1982

A WOMAN FOR ALL CAUSES Phyllis Schlafly, who was the most visible opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, has found at least one new cause worth pursuing—herpes. She is against it. A pamphlet being distributed by Mrs. Schlafly in schools, counsels that the solution to the epidemic of genital herpes is simple. "Remain a virgin until you marry, marry a virgin and remain faithful to each other," advises Mrs. Schlafly.

STILL SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL The 1980 census shows poverty in Chicago is still racially and geographically segregated. Poorest census tracts are overwhelmingly black, while those with little or no poverty are predominantly white. Twenty percent of Chicago's residents have incomes below the poverty line of \$9,300 per year for a family of four. One in 10 whites lives below the poverty line, compared with about one in four Hispanics and one in three blacks.

The Chicago Reporter, November 1982

BACKSLIDING Two studies prepared at the University of Maryland report that college-age Americans are more racist and conformist than older segments of the population. One study of 18- and 19-year-olds taken statewide at the behest of a governor's task force reveals that 36 percent of those surveyed agreed that whites could keep blacks out of predominantly white neighborhoods. Fifty-five percent disapproved of blacks trying to buy houses in white neighborhoods and 27 percent would approve of laws banning interracial marriage.

College Press Service, Dec. 1982

DISNEY WHERE ARE YOU? Of 18 current motion pictures rated by the Film and Broadcasting Division of the U.S. Catholic Conference, eight are considered morally offensive and eight are restricted to adults, leaving just "E.T." and "Heidi's Song" for youthful movie-goers.

St. Louis Review, Dec. 10, 1982

SHADES OF VIETNAM Despite public assurances that the "elected" government of El Salvador is successfully repulsing guerrilla offensives, the Pentagon is quietly asking that the Reagan administration drop the fixed limit of 55 U.S. military advisers in that nation.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Dec. 3, 1982

NO WORK In Illinois and Missouri, well over 900,000 people are officially unemployed. Illinois lags only behind Michigan and Ohio in unemployment with one of every 7.5 workers on the jobless rolls.

DOUBLESPEAK A reminder that "1984" is a year away, President Reagan advised in a Nov. 22 speech on nuclear weapons production, control and deployment: "The United States wants deep cuts in the world's arsenal of weapons, but unless we demonstrate the will to rebuild our strength and restore the military balance, the Soviets, since they are so far ahead, have little incentive to negotiate with us." Thus, for less strategic weapons, more are needed. Meanwhile, a real doomsday weapon, the MX missile, is named "peacekeeper."

BREADBASKET Concern that American farmers are producing too much grain has Congressional and Reagan Administration officials worried. The surplus highlights the effect of declining commodity exports. Despite the increase in world hunger, few nations are financially able to benefit from America's abundance. Agriculture Secretary John R. Block has suggested an ironic program for an Administration with a hardline record on wasteful entitlement programs. Block has suggested to farm leaders that the government "pay" farmers in surplus grain if they agree not to plant grain next year. *Congressional Quarterly, Nov. 30, 1982*

OVERCROWDING Prisons in Missouri continue to be overcrowded. The Missouri Eastern Correctional Center at Pacific, opened in Sept. 1981 as a national model, has four prisoners for every three it was designed to hold. The inmate population has grown from 512 to 685.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 14, 1982

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But not in America

More Americans are destitute today than at any time during the last forty to fifty years. Some economists fear that conditions will deteriorate further if administration policies are not drastically changed. No level of life—economic, social, cultural, artistic—has been spared.

Yet, the country is unbelievably quiet.

Except for several vacuous and mostly ineffectual proclamations by spokespersons for the Democratic Party, and protests by representatives from a few consumer and civil rights groups, mainstream America, its thinkers, its artists, its writers, pursue their individualistic preoccupations oblivious to the larger needs.

Crises are frequently credited with evoking creativity, challenges to accepted mores, and new philosophies which can act as rallying points. But not in America.

Is it conceivable that the public actually believes the annual pronouncements by administration officials that "by spring or latest by summer" (substitute: by fall . . . by winter) the economy will turn around? Or is it possible that the 85 percent who told surveyors of the National Opinion Research Center that they are pretty happy or very happy most of the time manage to overlook the other 15 percent? Public perception refuses to accept how wholly dismal life is for far too many and, as a result, public opinion still endorses the status quo.

Of course, other countries are much worse off. But as social scientists have known for a long time, it is not the standard of living itself but whether the trend is up or down that accounts for a country's stability. As long as most citizens entertain an element of hope that conditions will improve, public protests will be kept within legal bounds. How long America's period of grace will last before civil turmoil will erupt is a matter of anyone's conjecture.

New hope can come from remedial action by government. But it can also come from those political, cultural and social leaders capable of shaping the soul of a country. In America, they seem to have abandoned that opportunity.

Chemical firms, EPA must share dioxin responsibility

The discussion about the dioxin waste sites in Missouri raises both scientific and public policy questions.

The scientific questions are straightforward. Both chemical industry spokesmen,

government scientists and environmentalists agree: Dioxins are an extremely deadly family of chemical compounds that have been linked in studies since 1966 to cancers and birth deformities, among other effects.

The chemical industry and environmentalists don't see eye-to-eye on the health effects of dioxins that have been sitting in the ground for a decade.

The sad legacy of environmental regulation is that some Americans have been poisoning other Americans, in some cases with full knowledge of the risks involved, for many years. This poisoning went undetected because the consequences show up only long after the victims are exposed.

For example only now, three decades later, is national attention being focussed on the plight of some U.S. veterans who claim to have lived most of their lives in infirmity because of A-Bomb tests.

Dioxins are an inevitable waste product in the production of Agent Orange, the herbicide used by the Air Force during the Vietnam war to defoliate areas of Vietnamese jungles and cropland.

Since the war, at least 90,000 veterans have complained that Agent Orange exposed them to dioxins, resulting in cancers, impotency, behavioral disorders, and genetic defects handed down to the next generation. The Veteran's Administration has squashed efforts to compensate these victims.

Spokesmen for veterans' groups conjecture that the VA's unseemly reluctance to acknowledge the problem is a product of three factors: the prohibitive costs of compensating victimized veterans, a desire not to legitimize Vietnamese claims that the U.S. engaged in chemical warfare, and the possibility of adverse affects on the chemical industry.

Nine firms contracted with the Air Force during the war to produce Agent Orange. Principle contractors were Dow Chemical and Monsanto. The only firm mentioned in the Environmental Protection Agency's studies of Missouri, state reports and press accounts is a now defunct firm, Hoffman-Taff of Verona, Missouri (later, Northeastern Pharmaceutical and Chemical Co.). But nine defense contractors—including Missouri-based Monsanto—produced dioxins.

Is Missouri's dioxin problem only the tip of the iceberg of an even more serious and widespread problem?

When the EPA's Superfund was created in 1980, the intent was to facilitate industry-government cooperation in cleaning up America's toxic dumps. It hasn't worked out that way. Instead EPA is becoming a "fall

In this issue

Responding to day-to-day social and political pressures, we tend to overlook calamities which may befall us a few years hence. This issue offers a mixture of both concerns.

A spectacular eyewitness account of the New Madrid earthquake of 1811 and another report on what we can do in anticipation of another upheaval deal with long-range problems.

The gradual choking of bilingual education in Illinois and a new perspective of Chicago's finances and financing review concerns of today.

Some political notes, last-minute votes by the just completed Congress, and poetry complement the longer articles.

guy" for corporations who escape liability and accountability. And toxic dumps remain intact. Corporate profits and public safety are still viewed as incompatible.

The EPA should obtain, by subpoena if necessary, the production records and all relevant data from all nine companies that produced dioxins. The government should determine where dioxins were dumped, acknowledge the documented effects on citizens living or working near dioxins, and initiate action to clean up dump sites.

Private firms and their management that created the mess should be held responsible for paying the cost of cleaning it up.

Federal "tax relief" places states in straitjacket

Balancing the budget is no less easy in Jefferson City, Missouri than it is in Washington, D.C. In the last two years, Gov. Christopher Bond has had the unpleasant chore of slashing state expenditures. In Jan. 1981, Bond ordered state agencies to cut 10 percent from their budgets. Six months later, he followed through with another across-the-board spending cut of 10 percent for state agencies. In Oct. 1982, Bond ordered an additional \$90 million in budget cuts, this time dipping heavily into general revenue monies earmarked for the state's public school system.

The latest cutbacks do not affect all state government outlays—only those supported by the general revenue fund, which depends on declining sales and income taxes.

Missouri's situation is typical of at least half of the states. They had to raise broad-based but inequitable taxes to pay for essential services. Federal cutbacks threaten the financial security of state governments.

Several states, including Missouri, are making up for losses in federal aid and losses in tax income by new sales taxes. Not only

are states failing to compensate for federal budget cuts in social programs, but they are imposing higher taxes on essentials. This hurts the poor disproportionately.

The dilemma states find themselves in is ironic. The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, hailed by the politicians in Washington as a huge tax break for consumers, is nothing less than a hand-out to high-income taxpayers and large corporations and a headache to everybody else. Thanks to ER-TA, 44 states will register net revenue losses for fiscal years 1982-86, reports *State Government News*, Oct. 1982.

And those revenue losses affect the least represented constituencies—the poor, the minorities, the mentally ill, the prisoners, and the children.

New group counters right-wing fanatics

Among the few national efforts to counteract the more extreme aberrations of the new right is the two-year-old organization called "People for the American Way."

It has successfully battled, for example, against censorship attempts of Texas textbooks (and of textbooks that children all over the country will read) and the introduction of prayer in public schools.

"People for" takes a forthright stand against the fanatical attempts by Moral Majority, Inc., and Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum among many other rightist groups to chip away at the principles laid out in the Bill of Rights.

The leadership and board of "People for" include national authorities and experts in many fields which need support. Readers interested in their literature and their efforts should write to: People for the American Way, 1015 18th Street, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036.

COMING

in the next issue

articles by

James McKinley

Melvin B. Tolson

Helen Ashmore

Robert Stewart

Supports heavy military spending

Congress nixes much of Reagan's agenda

By Andy Plattner

Congressional Quarterly

In 1982, Congress rejected a wide range of legislation sought by President Reagan, in sharp contrast to its 1981 performance.

Congress rewrote Reagan's fiscal 1983 budget and convinced the president to support a large tax increase only a year after passing his plan to cut taxes. For the first time, members overrode Reagan's veto of an appropriations bill, a measure the president labeled a "budget buster."

Reagan's call for a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget also was rejected.

And Congress turned down most of Reagan's ambitious efforts to reduce the scope of the federal government, failing to pass his proposals to change the regulatory process, to revamp the nation's clean air and water laws, to abolish the departments of Energy and Education and to establish new financial relationships with the 50 states.

On the congressional scrap heap were Reagan-backed bills to limit court-ordered school busing, to allow prayer in public schools and to limit abortions.

Although Congress generally went along with the large increases in defense spending that Reagan wanted, Congress voted against production of one of the major elements of his military budget, the MX missile.

The 97th Congress enacted far fewer laws than any Congress in the past 25 years. Congress will have passed about 400 new laws during the past two years. By contrast, the 96th Congress in 1979-80 created 613 public laws.

Part of the decrease can be explained by the president's belief that the scope of government should be contracted.

It also can be attributed to this Congress' decision to package many bills in a



few omnibus measures. For example, the 1982 tax increase bill included provisions ranging from airport development to limits on Medicare and Medicaid payments to hospitals and doctors. Also in the tax bill, Congress extended unemployment benefits for between six and 10 weeks.

One of the highlights of the laws Congress did enact during 1982 was a 25-year extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Another was the 1981 tax bill, a measure that will raise \$98 billion over the next three years.

In the energy area, Congress passed legislation it hoped would force Reagan to pump more oil into the nation's Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The bill was passed after Reagan vetoed another measure that would have given him emergency oil allocation powers.

A proposal to share the costs of the cleanup of the Three Mile Island, Pa., nuclear plant never made it out of committee. Landmark legislation to dispose of nuclear waste was passed by both House and Senate and signed into law.

One of the president's efforts to reduce federal red tape faced by businesses was his plan to amend air and water pollution laws. But his proposals were bottled up in both House and Senate. Congress did agree to a relatively modest streamlining of the Endangered Species Act.

In the transportation area, Congress

acted to deregulate the intercity bus industry and to block a strike by railroad engineers.

It rewrote antiquated laws governing the use of federal irrigation water in Western states. A bill authorizing research and development funds for the Environmental Protection Agency was vetoed by Reagan.

After extended debate on amendments dealing with abortion and school prayer, Congress scrapped them and passed a bill increasing to a record \$1.29 trillion the amount the federal government can borrow.

A new federal jobs training program was enacted to replace the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which expired.

Several dozen bills were hanging fire as Congress approached the end of the lame-duck session but only a few actually passed.

Democrats failed to add multibillion-dollar jobs programs to the stopgap funding bill Congress must pass before it finally quits.

Among the many bills that died in December were one rewriting federal pesticide laws, another reauthorizing hazardous waste disposal laws, a nuclear weapons freeze resolution, legislation setting up the urban "enterprise zones" sought by the president and a bill to strengthen federal health warnings on cigarette packages.

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Seeks federal examination of disabilities

Illinois reports on Agent Orange study

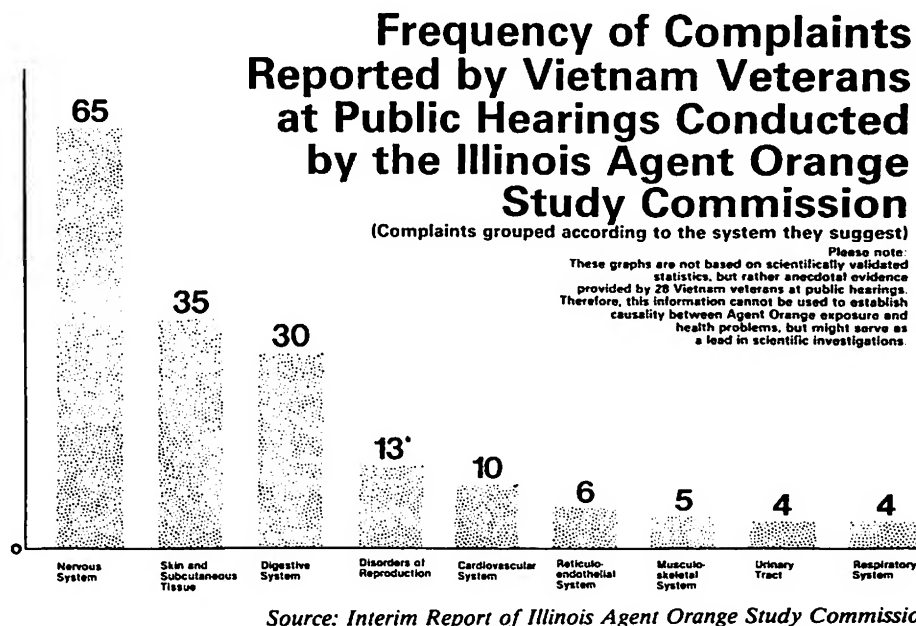
By Fred Beaumont

The claim by Vietnam veterans of war-related disabilities because of exposure to herbicides used by the U.S. Air Force was given greater credence by an interim report issued by the Illinois Agent Orange Study Commission. The state commission was recently established by the Illinois legislature.

Agent Orange includes dioxins, a family of extremely poisonous chemicals that have been creating quite a stir among civilians in Missouri. Agent Orange production in Missouri has been linked to numerous hazardous waste dumps containing dioxins.

The Illinois commission, only one of several commissions established by various states, reports that 28 witnesses testified about symptoms that they trace to toxic exposure in Vietnam. The "anecdotal observations," commissioners note, "do not establish causality but can serve as direction for further investigations."

State Senator Karl Berning, chairman of the commission, points out few are interested in pursuing the Agent Orange manufacturers. Instead, Berning says, the commission's goal is to push the federal government—in particular, the Veteran's Administration—into recognizing exposure to deadly herbicides as a com-



pensable war-related disability.

Testimony before the Illinois commission, although circumstantial, suggests the breadth of the problem. Of the veterans who testified, there were 65 reports of specific nervous-system related health problems, 35 related to skin disorders, and 30 reports of digestive disorders, cardiovascular problems or other health

defects. Thirteen veterans reported serious reproductive health problems, including 12 miscarriages, and 20 cases of health problems in offspring.

The Illinois commission's report, though inconclusive, adds another voice to the nationwide cry for a serious examination into one of the ugliest legacies of the war against Vietnam.

Local counties risk EPA-sanctioned penalties

By Joseph A. Davis

Congressional Quarterly

Missouri and Illinois counties and municipalities may face penalties for failing to meet the Dec. 31, 1982, deadline for compliance with national health-related air quality standards under the Clean Air Act.

The 24 Illinois and 9 Missouri counties

were listed Nov. 15 by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as "designated non-attainment areas" for at least one health-related pollution standard.

The Clean Air Act required EPA to set "national ambient air quality standards," goals for the quality of air in general circulation rather than for the gas coming out of smokestacks.

EPA has set seven "primary," or health-related, standards involving such pollutants as sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide and ozone. An area that has not met any one of the primary standards is called a "non-attainment area" for the pollutant in question. No specific deadlines were set for "secondary" standards, or those pertaining to visibility and other factors not related to health.

The law requires every air quality region to meet all the primary standards by

Dec. 31, 1982, except in narrowly defined cases where extensions are possible. Areas not meeting the deadline, and not given extensions, face sanctions.

Sanctions could include a ban on permits for the construction or modification of factories, power plants or other major stationary sources of the pollutant in question.

Other sanctions could involve cutting off federal grants for highways and clean air programs in an air quality area if the state had not submitted a satisfactory plan as required by the law to meet EPA standards or had failed to implement its plan. That provision applies to areas with pollution problems related to transportation, such as smog.

EPA identified 472 counties facing possible sanctions. But the list is being

continued on page 22

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Selected Congressional key votes Missouri and Illinois legislators

The 97th Congress, lame ducks and all, was called back into session Nov. 29. The House started at a feverish pace, considering all the appropriations bills left untended before election time, the Senate meanwhile started the lame duck session with a pronounced limp, failing to pass any significant legislation during the first two weeks of the session, except for voting down President Reagan's gas tax proposal. This accounts for *FOCUS/Midwest's* scanty offering of key Senate votes.

Top on the list of crucial legislation is a nuclear disposal bill, passed by the House, which would generally accelerate the completion of nuclear power plants, the controversial MX system, the jobs-gas tax proposal, FTC jurisdiction over professional groups, and antitrust legislation, which at presstime was bottled up by filibuster in the Senate, and citing the head of the EPA for contempt.

The following U.S. Senate and U.S. House Votes were cast during the 98th Congress, Second Session (1982).

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN DESCRIPTION OF BILLS

D: Democrat
R: Republican
HR: House Bill
S: Senate Bill
H Res: House Resolution
HJ Res: House Joint Resolution

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOTING COLUMNS

Y: Voted for (yea)
#: Paired for
+: Announced for
N: Voted against (nay)
X: Paired against
?: Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

HOUSE

(A) HR 3809. Nuclear waste state vote upheld, Lujan, (R,NM) amendment to reduce the power of the states to veto the location of an interim storage facility for spent nuclear fuel within their borders by requiring a vote by one house of Congress to sustain a state veto, rather than letting the veto stand unless overruled by both houses of Congress, as provided in the bill. Rejected 181-194; R 126-36; D 55-158, Nov. 29, 1982.

(B) HR 3809. Location of nuclear waste site. Lott (R, Miss.) amendment to prohibit the location of a permanent nuclear waste repository at a site adjacent to an area one mile by one mile with a population of 1,000 or more. Rejected 81-296; R 65-99; D 16-197, Nov. 29, 1982.

(C) HR 3809. Nuclear waste state veto curtailed. Broyhill (R,N.C.) amendment to reduce the power of states to veto the location of a permanent nuclear waste repository within their borders by requiring a vote by one house of Congress to sustain a state veto, rather than letting the veto stand unless overruled by both houses of Congress, as provided in the bill. Adopted 213-179; R 140-35; D 73-144, Dec. 2, 1981.

(D) HR 6995. Federal Trade Commission exemption. Luken (D, Ohio) amendment to exempt professionals from FTC jurisdiction until Congress specifically grants that authority. Adopted 245-155; R 151-27; D 94-128.

(E) HR 2330. Nuclear Regulatory Commission Authorization. Stratton, (D,N.Y.), motion to eliminate provisions prohibiting the use of burned fuel from civilian nuclear power plants for the production of nuclear weapons; limiting the authority of the Dept. of Energy to withhold certain unclassified information, and changing the schedule for issuing regulations concerning the cleanup of uranium tailings. Motion rejected 107-281; R 73-102; D 34-179, Dec. 2, 1982.

(F) HR 6211. Transportation Assistance Act of 1982. Stenholm, (D,Texas), amendment to waive Davis-Bacon Act wage requirements for federally funded transportation projects. Rejected 174-223; R 138-41; D 36-182, Dec. 6, 1982.

(G) HR 7355. Department of Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1983. Addabbo, (D,N.Y.), amendment to delete \$988 million for procurement of five MX missiles. Adopted 245-176; R 50-138; D 195-38, Dec. 7, 1982. A "nay" vote reflected the President's position.

(H) HR 7355. No Funds for Nicaragua Overthrow. Boland, (D,Mass.), substituted for the Harkin, (D,Iowa) amendment to bar the use of funds in the bill by the Central Intelligence Agency or Defense Department to extend military assistance to any non-governmental organization for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua or for provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras. This amendment was substituted for a more restrictive amendment that would have barred assistance to non-governmental groups "for the purpose of ... carrying out military activities in or against Nicaragua." Adopted 411-0; R 181-0; D 230-0, Dec. 8, 1982.

(I) HR 7355. Department of Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1983. Passage of the bill to appropriate \$230,330,492,000 for military programs of the Dept. of Defense in fiscal 1983. Passed 346-68; R 175-10; D 171-58, Dec. 8, 1982.

(J) S 2059. Ethics in Government Act of 1982. Hall, D-Texas, motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to revise and extend for five years a law allowing for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate matters involving high government and political party campaign officials. Motion agreed to 347-37; R 137-34; D 210-3 (ND 144-1, SD 66-2), Dec. 13, 1982. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (256 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

(K) H J Res 553. Indian Tribes Legal Claims. Udall, D-Ariz., motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution to extend the time limit for American Indians to bring legal damage suits in cases arising prior to 1966. Motion rejected 228-153; R 47-123; D 181-30 (ND 130-13, SD 51-17), Dec. 13, 1982. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (254 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

continued on page 24

Key Congressional votes of lame duck session

U.S. SENATE

ILLINOIS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Percy (R)	N	Y	?	+	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Dixon (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Danforth (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Eagleton (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y

U.S. HOUSE

ILLINOIS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Washington (D-1)	?	?	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Savage (D-2)	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Russo (D-3)	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Derwinski* (R-4)	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	?	N
Fary* (D-5)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	?	X	Y	N	?	Y
Hyde (R-6)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Collins (D-7)	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Rostenkowski (D-8)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Yates (D-9)	?	?	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Porter (R-10)	Y	N	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Annuizio (D-11)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Crane, P. (R-12)	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N

U.S. HOUSE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
McClory* (R-13)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Erlenborn (R-14)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Corcoran (R-15)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Martin (R-16)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
O'Brien (R-17)	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Michel (R-18)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Railsback* (R-19)	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Findley* (R-20)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Madigan (R-21)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crane, D. (R-22)	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Price (D-23)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Simon (D-24)	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Clay (D-1)	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Young (D-2)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
Gephardt (D-3)	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Skelton (D-4)	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Boiling* (D-5)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Coleman (R-6)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Taylor (R-7)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Bailey* (R-8)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Volkmer (D-9)	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Emerson (R-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

*lame duck (retired or defeated)



Republicans lose both in Missouri and in Illinois

By Fred Beaumont

Redistricting rather than Reaganomics helped Democrats fare well in both Missouri and Illinois congressional races.

In Illinois, Republican congressmen

took a drubbing, losing four seats—two to Democrats and two to redistricting.

In the 98th Congress, Illinois Republicans will make up 10 of 22 House seats, compared to 14 of 24 in the 97th Congress.

SENATE		HOUSE	
97th Congress: Democrats 46* Republicans 54		97th Congress: Democrats 241† Republicans 192	
98th Congress: Democrats 46 Republicans 54		98th Congress: Democrats 267 Republicans 166	

* Includes Harry F. Byrd Jr., Va., elected as an independent. † Two vacancies.

1982 Congressional voting results

ILLINOIS

	Vote Total	Per- cent
Governor		
Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	1,720,822	50
James R. Thompson (R)*	1,753,057	50
Bea Armstrong (LIBERT)	—	—
John E. Roche (TAX)	—	—
House		
1 Harold Washington (D)*	154,042	97
Charles Allen Taliaferro (R)	5,327	3
2 Gus Savage (D)*	119,763	87
Kevin Walker Sparks (R)	17,206	13
3 Marty Russo (D)*	104,693	81
Richard D. Murphy (R)	24,550	19
4 Michael A. Murer (D)	50,077	46
George M. O'Brien (R)*	59,936	54
5 William O. Lipinski (D)	94,134	78
Daniel J. Partyka (R)	26,272	22
6 Leroy E. Kennel (D)	40,939	32
Henry J. Hyde (R)*	88,493	68
7 Cardiss Collins (D)*	102,845	87
Dansby Cheeks (R)	15,350	13
8 Dan Rostenkowski (D)*	113,536	84
Bonnie Hickey (R)	21,717	16
9 Sidney R. Yates (D)*	98,883	68
Catherine Bertini (R)	46,447	32
Sheila Jones (AD)	—	—
10 Eugenia S. Chapman (D)	60,633	41
John Edward Porter (R)*	85,968	59
11 Frank Annunzio (D)*	121,808	73
James F. Moynihan (R)	44,733	27
12 Daniel G. DeFosse (D)	37,027	32
Philip M. Crane (R)*	80,478	68
Joan T. Jarosz (LIBERT)	—	—
13 Robert Bily (D)	46,749	30
John N. Erlenborn (R)*	108,614	70
14 Dan McGrath (D)	53,862	35
Tom Corcoran (R)*	98,267	65
15 Tim L. Hall (D)	47,085	33
Edward R. Madigan (R)*	97,590	67
16 Carl R. Schwerdtfeger (D)	66,777	43
Lynn Martin (R)*	89,405	57

	Vote Total	Per- cent
17 Lane Evans (D)	93,685	53
Kenneth G. McMillan (R)	83,536	47
18 G. Douglas Stephens (D)	91,278	48
Robert H. Michel (R)*	97,405	52
19 John Gwinn (D)	86,971	48
Daniel B. Crane (R)*	94,547	52
20 Richard J. Durbin (D)	100,758	50
Paul Findley (R)*	99,345	50
21 Melvin Price (D)*	88,660	66
Robert H. Gaffner (R)	46,224	34
Sandra L. Climaco (BGG)	—	—
22 Paul Simon (D)*	121,545	66
Peter G. Prineas (R)	62,456	34

MISSOURI

Senator		
Harriett Woods (D)	753,835	49
John C. Danforth (R)*	780,276	51
House		
1 William Clay (D)*	102,605	66
William E. White (R)	52,545	34
2 Robert A. Young (D)*	100,773	57
Harold L. Dielmann (R)	77,436	43
3 Richard A. Gephardt (D)*	131,528	78
Richard Foristel (R)	37,450	22
4 Ike Skelton (D)*	96,114	55
Wendell Bailey (R)*	79,255	45
5 Alan Wheat (D)	96,059	59
John A. Sharp (R)	66,664	41
Kathie A. Fitzgerald (SOC WORK)	—	—
Alan H. Deright (I)	—	—
6 Jim Russell (D)	78,285	45
E. Thomas Coleman (R)*	97,447	55
7 David A. Geisler (D)	87,422	50
Gene Taylor (R)*	88,719	50
8 Jerry Ford (D)	80,989	48
Bill Emerson (R)*	86,443	52
9 Harold L. Volkmer (D)*	99,248	61
Larry E. Mead (R)	63,949	39

Biggest losers included the new 17th district in which incumbent Tom Railsback lost a primary challenge by Kenneth G. McMillan. McMillan was subsequently defeated. In a bonafide mud-slinging contest, Rep. Paul Findley, (R., 20th D.) lost a spirited challenge by Richard J. Durbin.

Republicans did manage to hold onto House Minority Leader Robert Michel's 18th District, a race upon which national attention was focussed.

In Missouri, all eyes turned to the unexpectedly strong challenge by State Senator Harriett Woods against Republican one-term incumbent Sen. John Danforth. Danforth's squeaker victory was a credit to his late hour campaigning in St. Louis County—traditionally Republican territory—and to a campaign war chest of more than \$2 million.

Retiring Rep. Richard Bolling, chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, left a seat open which was promptly snapped up by State Representative Alan Wheat, a liberal Democrat. Wheat becomes Missouri's second black congressman. Rep. Wendell Bailey, (R., 8th D.) forced either to fight for a seat against Republican Bill Emerson or to challenge Ike Shelton, (D., 4th D.) elected to fight the Democrat. Bailey lost. Emerson, on the other hand, fended off a strong challenge by Democrat Jerry Ford, to capture the new 8th district.

Republicans lost one Missouri seat. Democrats held onto their six seats in the House of Representatives.

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Financing Chicago:



Jane Byrne haunted by legacy of fiscal follies

By Barbara Schaaf

In assessing the stewardship of Mayor Jane Byrne, no single person or group comes out of it untarnished. Not elected officials, politicians, bankers, businessmen, bonding agencies, auditors, trustees, watchdog groups, not investigative reporters in any medium, and most of all not the average Chicagoan, who is just too bored by or lazy to read the city's financial statements, let alone try to understand them.

Before reviewing Chicago's fiscal follies, it would be well to remember that while news of fiscal disaster was breaking all around her, Jane Byrne was trying politically to solidify her hold on the mayoralty on a day-to-day basis. This may explain some of her actions.

"Fiscally, I think she has done a fantastic job with the cutbacks and everything else, even though it is like applying band-aids. Compared to other major cities, and considering what she inherited, she has been tremendous." This is the opinion of a leading Chicago businessman, with one of the sharpest financial brains in the six-county metropolitan area. He continues, "I think that anyone who took the trouble to really look into it would say that. She raised taxes, but she had to do it. I don't care who the mayor was—Daley, Bilandic, Kelly or Kennelly, and I knew them all—any one of them would have had to do the same thing, given her circumstances. And the taxes have not gone up anywhere near what has been reported."

The local mogul raises two of the most perplexing questions about Jane Byrne

as mayor: How many of her problems were inherited, and how much has she actually raised taxes?

It has been widely reported that Byrne has forced huge increases in new and existing taxes and fees; that she has borrowed widely, recklessly refinancing existing debts at a time of soaring interest rates; and that she has increased spending and the city payroll, while at the same time claiming to have done the opposite. All of this has been done, according to the conventional wisdom, to provide Byrne with a handsome cushion so that her election year budget will cause voters no new pain in the wallet. These allegations have sometimes been backed up with seemingly hard numbers. But a review of the city budget, audits and estimates don't support these glib conclusions.

Real Estate Taxes

The charge that Byrne has raised property taxes \$106.6 million per year since she took office in 1979 is particularly serious. It has become an emotional issue among inflation-battered homeowners. There's a problem: Real estate taxes can only be increased by the Cook County assessor. In other words, however gallant the efforts of the mayor and the city council to hold the line on Chicago's tax rate, the property tax bills may be raised despite them.

Because real estate tax collections always lag one year behind, the 1978 tax figures, which were payable in 1979, are used as the benchmark. By the same token, since the city's fiscal year ends

December 31, the 1979 budget was prepared in 1978, well before Byrne's election, so any alleged increase would not have been her doing. (The following summaries come from a series of articles which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times and other sources. The contradictory figures were obtained from tax extension data available in the office of Cook County Clerk Stanley Kusper and from nonpartisan groups such as the Civic Federation.)

Year	Amount of actual taxes	Increase/decrease over prev. year
1978	\$380.6 million	
1979	\$366.2 million	-\$14.4 million
1980	\$362.7 million	-\$ 3.5 million
1981	\$388.7 million	+\$26 million

Actual increase in real estate taxes 1978-1981: \$8.1 million

Average yearly increase during this period: \$2.7 million

Difference between alleged and actual annual increase: \$103.9 million

Nonproperty taxes and fees

Critics charge that Byrne has increased these revenues by \$305.6 annually. These are the figures:

Year	Increase over previous year
1980	\$ 55,196,000
1981	\$162,254,000
1982	\$294,526,000

As is readily apparent, 1980 and 1981 were well below the alleged increase, and even the estimate for 1982, when collections will reflect a whole range of increases and new taxes, is \$11.1 million under.

Increases in cost of debt service

A side-by-side comparison of the alleged and actual cost of combined principal and interest due on city borrowings reveals the following discrepancies.

Year	Alleged	Actual	Difference
1979	\$ 92,470,447	\$46,100,000	overstated by \$46,370,447
1982	\$185,469,394	\$88,100,000	overstated by \$97,369,390

Sizeable tax increases have been levied on cigarettes and liquor; on water, including a sewer surcharge; and on utilities, which are passed on to the ultimate customer (some of these taxes utilities are permitted to keep to cover their added costs in handling). Also levied has been a one percent increase in the retailers occupational tax (known popularly as the sales tax) but which has proved unpopular with automobile dealers and other merchandisers of expensive items who claim their clientele has moved to

The shockwaves were felt . . . in the financial community

the suburbs. About the only tax that has decreased is the tax levied on employers for each employee, known as the "head" tax. The decrease in this area reflects layoffs due to the economy and the loss of manufacturing jobs to the suburbs, to the sunbelt, and to business failures. An attempt to make up this loss by imposing a tax on services performed in the city has been ruled unconstitutional by the courts.

Why disparities?

Possible explanations for the disparities in reporting city finances could be due to poor legwork, bad calculations, or disinterest. "I almost never see any one of them up here," says one of the city's major financial officers, referring to the press corps, "and when I do, it's like talking to the wall. You can see that they don't understand; they're only interested in the latest buzzwords." Only two press room regulars have a reputation for being knowledgeable about fiscal matters, and where they lead, others follow. "We're really a pretty lazy bunch," one of their number cheerfully admits. LaVern Kron, research director of the Civic Federation, thinks that part of the trouble arises because, "Historically, no one trusts the city's figures, largely because of poor financial reporting in the past."

If the charges of monstrous tax increases cannot be laid at Byrne's door, then what about the problems Byrne and her supporters have claimed she inherited, and when and how did it all begin.

The fiscal storm clouds began forming about 1970 but the few who must have recognized the danger signals kept their own counsel. Most Chicagoans were more than a little smug about their town as they watched New York City going bankrupt, with Detroit and Cleveland not far behind. They lived in the big-shouldered-second-city-on-the-make-on-the-lake-that-worked. And if Chicago worked, it was Mayor Daley who made it do so. When one of the small band of Daley critics would warn from time to time that a day of reckoning was coming, that person was taken about as seriously as one of the religious fanatics who pace State Street exhorting Chicagoans to "Repent—for the end is at hand!"

Then, suddenly, incredibly, the end was at hand: of a life, of an era, and although no one knew it then, of all the comfortable Chicago clichés in which Chicagoans had come to believe. Indestructible Richard J. Daley had made it possible to ignore his age and declining health. Chicago was unprepared for his

departure. He seemed so in control that it was not hard to believe that even by dying just before the Christmas holidays, he was giving his beloved city a last parting gift of time. While customary activities were suspended for celebrations of the festive season (many of which were overshadowed by a sense of personal loss), the elected officials and politicians who survived could take advantage of this traditionally slow time to go about the business of choosing a successor.

By the time the last New Year's hangover had lifted, an orderly transition had been initiated. Michael Bilandic, hitherto a virtual unknown, almost immediately seemed like the logical choice: he was the alderman from Daley's own 11th Ward, but more important to the financial and business communities, he had been the knowledgeable chairman of the city council's finance committee. The power brokers recognized that it was imperative that everyone be reassured that Chicago would keep ticking along as it always had. Soon it was business as usual at City Hall, and if that was anathema to some, to the vast majority, especially the bankers and the businessmen,

it was a comfort. In June 1977, Bilandic was easily elected to fill the remainder of Daley's term, expiring in April 1979. During this interregnum, Bilandic seemed determined to stress continuity, and the horizon seemed clear of any damaging fiscal storms.

The race for the Democratic mayoral nomination, tantamount to election, was in February 1979, and Bilandic seemed a cinch to win. He had an opponent, but no one took Jane Byrne seriously—except Jane Byrne.

Byrne served under Daley as Commissioner of Consumer Affairs, and continued in that capacity under Bilandic until he fired her after a contretemps involving charges of favoritism for a taxi company. Although Daley also had appointed Byrne to the highest posts held by women within the local Democratic party, she was never one of his insiders; no woman ever could have been. So Jane Byrne had no organization, no money, nothing going for her except her guts.

Soon it was discovered that she was good copy, always ready to level a new charge, usually about hidden deficits,

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City fights to regain bond rating

Since 1974, Chicago had held a double A bond rating from the two rating agencies. Moody's Investors Service and Standard & Poor's, both located in New York City. In September 1979, both firms lowered the rating a notch, meaning that the city would have to pay a higher rate of interest to attract investors when issuing bonds. The reasons given were revelations about Chicago's shaky financial position, including the revolving funds, a \$28 million operating deficit in the 1978 city corporate fund, and other fiscal naughtiness.

Overlooked in the furor that followed—the insult was felt so keenly that if the city council had dispatched its seconds to demand satisfaction from the gnomes of New York ("a city where they don't even have alleys for their garbage," one alderman remarked) it would have been widely applauded—was the fact that for some time prior to 1979, Chicago's bonds were actually being traded at the lower rating. There are several possible explanations for this: the

lower amount may have been all the market would bear; the market may have been responding to unfavorable perceptions about the city's financial situation before the news became general knowledge; or, for conspiracy fans, some one or small group may have combined to set the market.

In any event, the Byrne administration has had to devote considerable energy and time to regaining the old rating. This is not expected to happen any time soon, according to experts. Everyone agrees that Byrne is making headway. Partly because of the radical changes in the city's financial and fiscal procedures, and partly because Byrne has brought in Peat, Marwick & Mitchell, investment banking advisors, and other consultants in whom the close knit financial community has confidence, they are likely to sit on the rating as it is, to be reassured that the new measures will be retained. Especially, they want to be certain that the city does not take over the school and/or the transit systems, both of which are in dire financial straits.

Her legacy, hard times thwart Byrne's goals

continued from page 11

evil cabals, and incompetent administration of city departments. This came as a welcome relief to editors during a typically dreary Chicago winter and an otherwise dull campaign.

Suddenly the storm that had been gathering for years broke, literally, dumping inch after inch of snow on the city. Nothing moved, most notably the city's snow removal equipment, and Byrne made the most of it. While people who couldn't get past their front doors watched Bilandic and the city council congratulate themselves on the splendid street clearing they were doing, a commercial ran showing Jane Byrne standing in a snowstorm. It didn't matter what she said; "I told you so," was what people heard.

By primary day, enough snow had melted that voters could mush to the polls, administering Bilandic and the organization a stunning upset, surprising even those who had voted for Byrne. "I never thought she could win," said one woman, obviously frightened by what she had wrought. "I just wanted to send the lads a message."

The shock waves were felt everywhere, but no where more than in the financial community. Its members had always enjoyed a special open-door relationship with Daley that had been car-

ried over under Bilandic. Major financial arrangements for and with the city could be accomplished with just a phone call. Now they didn't even know the person at the other end of the line.

No track record

To them, Jane Byrne had no track record. She had made some serious charges about financial irresponsibility and sweeping promises for change, but they had regarded her merely as a gadfly. She was explosive, impulsive, and frankly she scared them.

What must have been especially frightening was that Byrne entered the mayor's office owing nothing to anyone—with the possible exception of Jupiter Pluvius. Scarcely had she had a chance to savor her triumph when the harsher aspects of her inheritance began to manifest themselves.

City Comptroller Anthony Fratto describes the situation, "You've got to look at it from the standpoint of the mayor being the new kid on the block. And all these years, everyone has been saying how great the city has been run, and she's going about trying to put together her program, and she finds out from her financial officers that, hey, we don't have any cash to meet the payroll; there's no money to pay off the revolving funds (*see sidebar*); and by the way,

the Board of Education (*see sidebar*) is about ready to go bankrupt."

The rest of Byrne's first year in office is a litany of never-ending financial woes and embarrassments:

- In September, the city lost its coveted double A bond rating (*see sidebar*)
- The teachers struck after missing three paychecks
- The budget director discovered that by mistake the council had been asked for \$29 million too much in tax increases. When Byrne decided to keep the "mistake," turning it into a "budget enrichment," the highly respected budget director resigned. At the time of this writing, the Byrne administration had witnessed an incredible turnover in major positions, including three comptrollers and three budget directors.
- The Chicago Transit Authority drivers struck, despite being paid the highest wages in the U.S. in their field.
- The firemen struck, feeling Byrne had welshed on a campaign promise to negotiate a contract with them.

The fallout from her legacy combined with economic hard times continue to thwart Byrne's financial goals and city programs. Critics insist that her style and methods at times have aggravated this situation. One professional city observer comments, "Her big problem (with the financial community) she created herself. She alerted the whole financial world that we were in pitiful condition before she really knew what the financial situation was. This is an industry that runs scared anyway; it is usually moved by rumors, and she spread some of the biggest rumors ever."

Also, on occasion, Byrne seems to emulate the very behavior and mode of operation she criticized in her predecessors; for example, last fall she attempted to switch \$145,000 from the public library budget to her Department of Neighborhoods to help fund a newsletter considered by many to be no more than a personal house organ. "If she can try to pull off a move as blatant as that," one editorial writer for a Chicago daily newspaper muses, "what might be going on beneath the surface?"

Concrete steps

Byrne can point to a number of concrete advances. She has instituted generally accepted financial procedures. According to Comptroller Fratto, "Before, some revenues that appeared on the budget were on a cash basis; some were on

Deficit disguised in revolving fund

These funds were established that city departments could pay other city departments for services rendered, and are a legitimate budget item. The revolving fund caper apparently began in 1970, when some departments incurred \$6 million in expenses without sufficient money to pay for them. Because it is illegal for the city to operate at a deficit, this had to be disguised, and the unpaid bills were offset by uncollectible accounts receivable, despite the fact that those involved knew it was extremely unlikely, barring a visit from the tooth fairy or some other windfall, that funds would ever become available to retire the receivables. When Byrne took office and hired one of the "Big 8" CPA firms, Peat, Marwick and Mitchell, to audit the city's books, the revolving fund deficit stood at \$78.7 million.

It may well be that no single person knew the depth of the problem, but

many knew of the practice, both in city hall and in the financial community. The bond-rating agencies were aware of the funds as well, but according to Comptroller Anthony Fratto, representations had been made to them that the monies to retire the receivables would be available.

Byrne was forced to move to eliminate this unfunded debt immediately, even if it took an increase in taxes to do it, in order to keep the city's fiscal operations within legal requirements, and to retain the confidence of the financial community. Before she went public with the details of the deficit, it is said that she received outside advice against doing so because it would reflect badly on all concerned. While it is certainly true that the truth hurt, it is questionable how long the secret could have been maintained in the light of other revelations, but Byrne is said to have insisted that the public be informed.

City needs an audit committee

an accrual basis; others were on some sort of hybrid basis, and there was no common place where you knew just exactly what each number was supposed to represent. On the accounting side, we have just been installing a general ledger system, bringing us into the 20th century." Fratto stresses much more needs to be done in these nuts-and-bolts areas, "but at least the city has a better idea how much each department needs, is spending and we can warn the department heads when they are perilously close to their limit. By the same token, if collections slow down spending can be cut back accordingly."

Open processes

Budget Director Al Boumenot also points "to more open budgeting techniques and processes," and like Fratto, to improvements in reporting and record-keeping, as well as to increased enforcement of collections. Boumenot agrees that the city has gone about as far as it can in the area of new and increased taxes. "The only major new source of revenue we've booked in 1983 is \$17 million from cablevision franchise fees," he

says. Unfortunately, this is a nonrecurring item, and when cablevision actually begins operating some time hence, the surcharge the city will receive will be far more modest.

Of course, other more traditional alternatives have been exploited. Byrne has raised \$8.5 million in the sale of land, \$6 million in increased collections of court fines, plus \$66 million in refinancing O'Hare International Airport. Two bonds—an \$80 million water revenue bond and a \$65 million general revenue bond—have also been floated.

"The steps the mayor has had to take to restore the city's fiscal integrity and reputation in the financial community have been very painful for everyone, all the more so because the necessity for them came as such a surprise. But in the long run, everyone will benefit," Boumenot adds.

What about the short run, for those who feel they may not be able to go the distance? "Our greatest problem is maintaining services within the existing revenue structure," according to Boumenot. This should be even harder than it sounds, because the full impact of Reaganomics has not hit the city yet. When it does, all its tops financial offi-

cers agree that the city cannot possibly pick up the slack, especially in social services. How deep the public suffering will go and how much Byrne will be able to do about it because of financial constraints are imponderables, and thus all the more worrying to the staff that must work to balance the budget and please the financial community.

Possible solutions?

The Civic Federation has some suggestions for further tightening up Chicago's financial operations. "Chicago needs a true department of finance with a director to whom the comptroller, the budget director, the purchasing agent, and any of the auxiliary financial administrators would report," LaVern Kron says. "We need an audit committee; the Mayor proposed this when she was a candidate, but nothing has been done, perhaps because we said that she should not be a part of it. The audit committee should select the auditor and should instruct the accounting firm in what they should be doing. In the end, the Mayor would benefit from it; she wouldn't have to agree with what they tell her because they are merely an advisory group. An audit committee, along with a strong director of finance, could take a lot of heat off the Mayor, so long as they had a background in business or municipal finance rather than politics."

Some of the Civic Federation's recommendations may eventually find their way into City Hall, but it would be a lot to expect of any mayor to delegate so much authority, even on an advisory basis.

John Perkins, president of Continental Illinois National Bank, Chicago's largest, and the sixth biggest nationally, sums it up this way. "I think the Mayor is trying to get things on a more basic, longer-run basis, rather than on the kind of quick turn; I think the rating agencies and some of the other financial institutions want to be sure there's going to be something more than something that looks good this year, but might not be there next year. On the positive side, I think the Mayor sees that it's good politics to be dedicated to a good, solid financial side, and I think everyone else has come to realize that this has to happen, because otherwise you can't get money and then you can't get anything done. The old days, when you could take care of programs by just borrowing more and more money are just gone."

But the old days sure as hell were fun while they lasted.

School system in serious trouble

The Chicago school system is a separate corporate entity with its own governing board, budget and tax levy.* But like the city, it got into trouble by playing a similar game of financial musical chairs.

Costs were rising, but after 1971, Mayor Daley would not countenance an increase in real estate taxes for the schools. In the absence of new revenue, the board had to borrow to pay its bills, and it was always behind. The school budget, like the city's, was required by law to be balanced, so also like the city, these deficits had to be disguised. Instead of appearing as a liability, the unrepayable borrowing popped on the other side of the financial statement, as a "pro rata line" line item. Incredibly, for a long time, no one asked what this meant.

Then, one day in 1979, the music stopped. The board issued yet another loan prospectus, but this one contained some language that tipped off a Moody's analyst that the schools had been using money borrowed for one purpose to pay for another, and to keep up day-to-day operations. As a

result, the board's bond rating was lowered, effectively ending its ability to borrow, which meant it could not pay its bills.

After much *sturm und drang*, a city/state bailout was arranged with the assistance of Chicago banks on an emergency basis. The entire board, including its finance chairman, was replaced and financial responsibility for the school budget was handed over to an oversight group to remedy the financial situation.

The system continues in serious financial trouble, and Chicagoans have come to expect the annual end-of-summer cliffhanger over whether the would have enough money to open for open for the new term. So far, a solution has always been patched together; without additional state aid, how long this can continue is in doubt.

*Besides the City of Chicago and the Board of Education, there are other taxing bodies supported by Chicagoans, including the County of Cook, the Forest Preserve District of Cook County, the Metropolitan Sanitary District, City Colleges, and the Park District.

WARNING:



Illinois may abandon its bilingual programs

By James Ylisela Jr.

It took nearly two years, but the Reagan Administration has finally come up with a way to abandon bilingual education and avoid taking the blame for doing so. The solution, it seems, is to let the states do it first.

In a slick version of the "New Federalism," the Department of Education recently decreed that school districts will no longer be held accountable for federal bilingual agreements that require native language instruction for children who speak little or no English. The states, as the theory goes, know best when it comes to spending federal education dollars.

Now, however, Illinois has taken the Reagan plan one step further. The state is on the verge of rewriting its own bilingual education law, allowing local school boards to choose from a number of instructional methods for non-English speakers, including the option of choosing no method at all.

But there's a catch. While Illinois blindly follows Washington's lead, the Reagan Administration is busy changing the government's test for civil rights compliance, particularly in the area of equal education opportunity. If the Administration has its way, a state's bilingual program will no longer be judged by its results, but by its intentions, which means that school districts in Illinois may soon find themselves in the enviable

position of being measured by whatever standards they set for themselves. And as any good educator will tell you, a test without standards is really no test at all.

While other states have repealed or amended their bilingual laws in the last year, the changes proposed in Illinois are particularly significant. The state has long been a bellwether in the education of language minority children; in 1971, Illinois became the first state to allocate funds for bilingual education. Under the current law, the state government spends nearly ten times what it receives in federal aid to bilingual programs. Last year, those programs served more than 37,000 children throughout the state.

More importantly, Illinois' bilingual law works. During the 1981-82 school year, 5,201 children—14 percent of those enrolled in the state's bilingual programs—moved successfully into an all-English curriculum, while only 1,461 students, or 3.9 percent, dropped out, moved away, or withdrew from bilingual programs. Scores based on the *Iowa Test of Basic Skills*, a measure of reading achievement, indicate that Chicago's bilingual students scored better than expected compared with English speaking students in compensatory programs.

Dismantling programs

Nevertheless, with encouragement from Washington, the State Board of Education has recommended three ma-

jor revisions in Illinois' six-year bilingual mandate. If adopted the changes would:

- exclude any reference to a specific methodology of instruction (the law now requires transitional bilingual education (TBE), in which children are taught in their native languages while they learn English);
- eliminate the requirement to teach history and culture as part of the bilingual program;
- allow local school boards to decide the means and extent of parent and community involvement in bilingual programs (the law now requires parental participation).

"Illinois is doing what the Reagan Administration would like Congress to do," says William J. Clohan, Jr., who until his ouster last April was Reagan's Department of Education undersecretary. "They would like to redefine bilingual education and what constitutes a limited English proficient child. This way they'll be able to show less need (for federal support) and spend less money."

Indeed, the Reagan Administration has gone out of its way to show local school districts that it no longer intends to enforce civil rights agreements under which more than 800,000 children are currently enrolled in transitional bilingual programs. While Bell's action was largely symbolic—the regulations had been widely criticized and would have died a natural death—it set the tone for

an abrupt reversal in federal civil rights policies to suit the ideological and budgetary goals of the new administration.

The withdrawn regulations had been designed to replace the so-called "Lau remedies" that had guided federal bilingual policy since 1975 (coincidentally, the Lau document was signed by Terrel Bell, who was then Gerald Ford's Commissioner of Education). The remedies, developed in response to the landmark 1974 Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*, required in many instances that districts use transitional bilingual education to qualify for federal assistance.

Although the Lau remedies never were enacted into law, they became *de facto* regulations for the nearly 500 bilingual plans negotiated by the government in the three years following the *Lau* decision. Most school districts had been conspicuously negligent in their treatment of language minority children, following a "sink or swim" approach that rarely, if ever, produced satisfactory results. Other school districts went along with the remedies because they lacked the personnel, or the expertise, to devise their own bilingual programs.

Federal guidelines

Eventually, however, a school district went to court to challenge the legal force of the Lau guidelines, and in 1978 the federal government agreed to develop official rules that would measure compliance with federal bilingual law until Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But the new guidelines, published in August 1980, were criticized for being even more prescriptive than the *Lau* remedies. The negative reaction to the guidelines drew the attention of the White House Regulatory, Analysis, and Review Group (RARG), an agency created by Jimmy Carter to weed out excessive or burdensome regulations. RARG recommended that the Education Department assess the worth of transitional bilingual education; although Bell later withdrew the regulations, and RARG was disbanded under Ronald Reagan, the study went ahead anyway, conducted by the Education Department's Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation.

That's when the trouble began. The authors of the report, Keith Baker and Adrianna de Kanter, completed their work in October 1981, concluding that while special programs had clearly improved the achievement of language minority children, the case for transitional bilingual education was "so weak that exclusive reliance on this instructional method is clearly not justified. Too little

is known about the problems of educating language minorities to prescribe a specific remedy at the federal level . . . each school district should decide what type of special program is most appropriate for its own unique setting."

"There is no justification," Baker and de Kanter wrote, "for assuming that it is necessary to teach non-language subjects in the child's native language in order for the language minority child to make successful progress in school."

A copy of the Baker and de Kanter report, entitled *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature*, was leaked to the press, leading many bilingual advocates to conclude that the government was no longer committed to helping language minority children. But some of the strongest criticism came from within the Department of Education, particularly in the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), whose staff reacted sharply to Baker and de Kanter's claim that their report addressed federal policy.

Unsound critique

In fact, OCR had rejected an earlier draft of the report as methodologically unsound, embarrassing, and biased against bilingual education. "The first draft of the report was just terrible," says one OCR staffer. "I was wondering what the usefulness of it all was. The report was a review of the literature, a review of a very complex issue, and by characterizing the literature, they were characterizing the programs, putting them into little boxes, and there's just no way they can be right doing it that way."

"My concern was that somebody had gone out of their way to tear into bilingual education."

Apparently someone had. When the final draft of the Baker and de Kanter report reached OCR, the staff sent its authors a memo stating that their conclusions were "invalid and of little relevance to federal policy or to local educators concerned with providing equal educational opportunity to language minority students."

But Keith Baker was unimpressed. OCR staffers who met with Baker after the release of the report say he told them they did not understand "the big picture," and that the report was intended to do a "hatchet job" on bilingual education. Baker denies those charges, but he admits it "only took us a few months to realize what we were going to say in the report. Once we found a few samples of various cases, we knew they would all be the same."

The OCR memo pointed out that Baker and de Kanter had based their

conclusions on 28 studies while rejecting or ignoring nearly 300 others, and chided the authors for inappropriately comparing bilingual problems in urban areas with those in rural communities, preschool programs with those serving junior high school students, and programs in the United States with those in Quebec.

"The authors failure to take into account these and other . . . characteristics," OCR concluded, "renders the Effectiveness Report virtually worthless as a policy relevant document."

Those are pretty strong words, especially coming from people with years of experience advising school districts with language minority students, but it seems to have little effect on Illinois' deliberations. The State Board of Education's recommendations for amending the bilingual mandate quote Baker and de Kanter verbatim, and neither the success of the state's bilingual programs nor the many hours of testimony refuting Baker and de Kanter's conclusions have altered the sentiments of many of the board's members. It is as if they had already made up their minds.

"It's been coming for a long time, only now the pieces are fitting together," says Maria Seidner, manager of the State Board of Education's Bilingual Section. "Ronald Reagan campaigned on the theme of doing away with the Department of Education, but you can't just do away with a department. First you have to do away with programs, and the programs are here because a need exists that hasn't been met at the local level."

"Bilingual education is a very emotional issue," Seidner says. "But to discredit the program, you have to discredit the administration, the need for the program, and show that its regulations don't work. (The State Board's) recommendations have taken the Baker and de Kanter report to mean that schools should have options, which is another way of saying there shouldn't be a bilingual mandate."

Local control a pretext

Although Secretary Bell has never acknowledged the Baker and de Kanter report as the official view of the Department of Education, he has apparently reached the same conclusions. On April 23, in testimony before the Senate subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities (where Adrianna de Kanter now works as an intern), Secretary Bell urged Congress to adopt amendments to the Bilingual Education Act that would permit a mix of instructional approaches

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"Fast Eddie" breathes new life

By Barbara Schaaf

The biggest election night victory in Chicago November 2nd went to the man who wasn't on the ballot. Edward R. Vyrdolyak, newly chosen chairman of the Democratic Party of Cook County, cranked up the machine that had been consigned to the junkyard by pundits, pollsters and professors alike, until it delivered as in the days of yore, when it was Richard J. Daley's juggernaut.

Vyrdolyak's triumph was all the more surprising because for his first time at the post, he had a tough package to sell the voter. Despite a promising start, with polls showing him in a virtual tie with incumbent governor James Thompson, Adlai Stevenson III quickly gave a whole new meaning to ineptitude. As Stevenson slid downhill, Thompson's campaign rallied to the lackluster level, thereby positioning him as the favorite in a struggle about which no one could say that either candidate peaked too soon, but rather that neither peaked at all.

All the signs and portents indicated that voters were turning away from Stevenson in droves. Nonetheless, the measure of Vyrdolyak's strength as party chairman would be based on how well he delivered for the head of the ticket, despite the fears of the rest of the slate that Stevenson would drag them down with him. It was widely assumed that the party would cut its losses, pushing hard for such popular statewide candidates as attorney general Neil Hartigan, and pulling out all the stops for the county ticket, which is what really matters in terms of patronage. No one would blame Vyrdolyak for such a prudent performance; after all, this had happened before, even in the halycon days of the machine, which everyone agreed were over.

And so the Thompson landslide became a major tenet of the conventional wisdom in the silicon chip dominated campaign of 1982. It all made perfect sense to everyone—except the Cook County chairman.

It isn't as if Vyrdolyak didn't serve notice as to what Republicans could expect on election night. A few days before the election, he received political reporters in his office to tell them that Stevenson would come out of Chicago with anywhere from 65 to 70% of the vote, that he would hold his own in the suburban townships, and that if all went well downstate, Stevenson would be in the



Edward Vrdolyak

governor's mansion come January. When some of those present disputed his statements, citing any number of polls that indicated the opposite, Vyrdolyak refused to be drawn into a protracted argument, but merely reiterated his belief that his figures were based on solid numbers reported by the 50 ward and 30 township committeemen.

Because they were subscribers to the conventional wisdom, with at least some of them helping to create it, the reporters dutifully took notes, but dismissed Vyrdolyak's claims as daft election eve boasting. "I wonder what Fast Eddie has been smoking," snorted one grizzled veteran of Chicago elections.

But if the county chairman was high on anything, it was the sweet smell of success. While the networks clung doggedly to their projections of a wide Thompson victory, Vyrdolyak knew better, and as the county returns came in, it seemed as if he were simultaneously on every TV and radio station in the Chicago area, revelling in the Democratic romp. If anything, his predictions had been on the cautious side: Stevenson won a startling 73% of the Chicago vote (prompting Thompson to moan, "The Vyrdolyak express ran over me"), enabling Adlai to shave the Thompson lead to less than 1%, as opposed to predictions of 16 to 20% and throwing the gubernatorial election into the clutches of the lawyers.

All of the other statewide candidates carried Cook County, most of them running ahead of Stevenson. Comptroller Roland Burris roared out of the city with

85% of the vote, followed by Hartigan with 79%, and Treasurer candidate James Donnewald (a virtual unknown in Cook County) with 78%. Even Secretary of State nominee Jerry Cosentino, saddled with negative publicity, took 71%. The Democrats on the county slate all piled up huge margins in the city, and the top four carried the suburbs as well. It was a measure of the suburban success that for the first time ever, a Democrat was elected to a suburban seat on the county board of commissioners. Everything that Vyrdolyak promised had come to pass—only more so. Forget about the candidates: Vyrdolyak was the hero of the hour.

In the days that followed, before the waterlogged ballots had finished being microwaved into a state where they could be read by the computer, the question everyone wanted answered was how had Vyrdolyak wrought this seemingly miraculous turnabout. The answer was simple: solid hard work and the reimposition of party discipline, coupled with some new tactics and techniques. Among the most important, Vyrdolyak

- did away with the long-entrenched precinct captains' luncheons, which had deteriorated into little more than a free meal for city employees. Instead, he set up a Saturday seminar at a downtown hotel for precinct captains from all wards and townships. During the course of the program, they had a chance to meet and talk with their candidates, as well as to hear party leaders advise them on how to get out the vote. "A lot of this has been taken for granted," says Edward Rosewell, after his election to a third term as county treasurer, "but some of the newer captains were in the dark. And it was invigorating for the candidates, too. I know I doubled up my schedule, making 8 to 12 stops a day."
- Met with the candidates to discuss issues, a practice which had been abandoned since Daley's death.
- Worked with the candidates on their scripts for radio commercial. Near the close of the campaign, Vyrdolyak made a radio commercial himself, reminding the public that "Republicans never have and never will care about working people." Mayor Jane Byrne appeared in TV commercials, making a similar pitch in behalf of the straight Democratic ticket. This was some-

into Chicago Democratic machine

thing even the legendary Daley, whose awesome power derived from being both mayor and county chairman, never did.

- Parted with \$300,000 in party funds to help the financially strapped Stevenson. "I don't think the party should keep its money in C.D.'s when the candidates need it," he explained.
- Pushed the "Punch 10" slogan. On the punch cards used in Cook County balloting, punching number 10 meant voting straight Democratic. A couple of weeks before the election, large bright blue buttons with "Punch 10" sprouted wherever precinct captains and Democratic loyalists gathered. "It was the smartest thing," Rosewell believes, "because it was easy to remember, and using it as a tag line on the commercials helped get people back to voting straight again." Post-election analysts agree that there is ample statistical evidence that voters heeded the rallying cry.
- Held a breakfast for the candidates and committeemen a week before the election, where he made his plea for party unity, laying it on the line: that if everyone wanted the strong Democratic Party they claimed to so ardently desire, now was the time to prove it, whether they liked all the candidates or not. Put more succinctly by a county candidate: "He kicked tail."
- Went after the suburban vote, for decades ignored or at best neglected, managing to hold Thompson's margin down to 61% where he grabbed 73% four years ago.
- Cooperated in a black voter registration drive with POWER (People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights). Nearly 100,000 new black voters signed up, and on election day the black wards voted in record numbers, giving Stevenson a 15 to 1 edge.

Also contributing to the Democratic sweep was the wretched state of the local economy, especially the unemployment rate of 12.5% which soared to 25% and higher in some parts of the city and suburbs.

If the sobriquet "Fast Eddie" sounds single dimensional and Runyonesque, the man himself is neither. Various described as ambitious, hard-charging, brash, feisty, brilliant, relentless, tireless, ruthless and, most important of all in Chicago, a man who gets things done, Vyrdolyak is a complex person who

... Vyrdolyak is a complex person who guards his privacy in a way reminiscent of Daley, but that is where the comparisons ... begin and end. ...

guards his privacy in a way reminiscent of Daley, but that is where the comparisons between the two begin and end.

At 45, Vyrdolyak is a prosperous lawyer, who lives with his wife and three sons on the far Southeast Side in the 10th Ward where he grew up, the youngest of six children of a tavernkeeper. The 10th is the kind of place where immigrants and newcomers to the city settle, until recently in hopes of making a living at one of the steel mills or manufacturing works scattered throughout the ward. Now the economy and poor management have forced many of these plants to close, and times are rough even in this neighborhood that prides itself on being tough.

In 1967, Vyrdolyak decided to challenge the incumbent ward committeeman, beating him only by a slim margin. The next year, he ran against the incumbent alderman, this time winning handily, and obtaining recognition that he was a young man in a political hurry. By 1974, chafing at Daley's tight grip over city government and Democratic politics, Vyrdolyak decided to challenge the machine candidate for county assessor, Tom Tully. After a bruising battle, Vyrdolyak lost, but remained in the city council.

Following Daley's death in 1976, Vyrdolyak became a close advisor to fellow man became a close advisor to fellow Croatia-American Michael Bilandic, who was first selected, then elected, to fill out Daley's term. But then along came Jane Byrne, who branded Vyrdolyak as part of an "evil cabal" running the city. With her upset election, it seemed clear that Vyrdolyak was once

again an outsider. Before very long, however, the two were allies, and it was at Byrne's urging that Vyrdolyak ran for county chairman in the spring of 1982 against the incumbent, County Board President George Dunne, who was blamed for allowing the machine to fall into disrepair and, more important to Byrne, who is believed to be a supporter of State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

Before the final tally in the governor's race could be announced, Vyrdolyak's next challenge began with the announcement by Richie Daley of his mayoral candidacy. Daley was soon joined by black candidate Congressman Harold Washington. Since both men opted against appearing before the party's slatemaking session—Byrne clearly having wrapped up a majority of the necessary votes—Vyrdolyak was not faced with a struggle during that meeting, but his problems are only beginning. His personal popularity with his fellow committeemen was a fact in getting out the November vote for an unpopular party candidate, but some of them have already defected to support Daley or Washington. The polls indicate that Byrne is in trouble in the black wards, who are inclined to support either Washington or Daley. These and other variables present Vyrdolyak with the kind of problems on which he thrives—and the Democrats prosper. If next April is a kind month, he will have a big say nationally.

A man of no small wit, Vyrdolyak is reported to be struck by the ironic turn of events which have placed him in control of the political organization he once opposed, whose newly restored strength he must defend against a challenge mounted by the son of the most famous and most effective boss the country has ever known. While the machine itself is not the same organization it was under Richard J. Daley and it cannot be if it is to survive, Vyrdolyak needs to prove again very quickly that it can still produce as it once did.

Mr. Dooley, the quintessential Chicagoan, once said, "Th' thing about bein' a hero to the American people is that it don't last long." There is every sign that Edward Robert Vyrdolyak is determined to hold on to his laurels up to and beyond the mayoral primary on February 22nd.

Barbara Schaaf is a freelance writer.

Earthquake in St. Louis?

Scientists say yes—and the city is

"Surprising" is an apt description for St. Louis. Surprising, not for the river city's unheralded civic treasures or unsung attractions, but surprising for its proximity to one of the world's most dangerous earthquake faults.

Even as much ado is made about new development and the feverish pace of urban reclamation, the city, like so many others in the region, is blissfully ignorant and unappreciative of the devastation that a shift in the New Madrid fault would bring.

Otto W. Nuttli, professor of geophysics at St. Louis University, warns "The earthquake hazard in Missouri is unique. When the next major earthquake occurs in Missouri, it will produce a disaster whose magnitude and scope are such that they will tax all the resources of the state. Even with massive federal relief, the effects on the state, its people and its commerce will be severe and long lasting."

The worst scenario in Missouri would be repetition of the earthquakes of 1811-1812. The famous New Madrid earthquake (described in the accompanying article) opened the earth and felled forests for 100 miles. The Mississippi River writhed like a snake, flowed upstream for a while, and carved out a new channel. Large land areas were uplifted, draining a 40-mile-long lake in Arkansas. Shock waves toppled chimneys in Cincinnati and caused church bells to peal in Washington D.C.

If such an earthquake occurred today, the Central Mississippi Valley would be devastated. Again Dr. Nuttli: "We don't know what the probability of recurrence of such a major sequence is. The probability of *one* earthquake of the size of 1811-1812 occurring in any 50 year period is 1 in 15." U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) teams working with St. Louis University seismologists recently pin-pointed the exact location of the New Madrid fault, "a rupture in the

basement rocks," lying far below limestone in Craighead County in northwestern Arkansas. Unlike the highly-publicized, equally dangerous San Andreas fault in California, the New Madrid fault is not visible on the earth's surface. Dr. Robert Werson, chief of the USGS's Department of Earthquake Studies at Reston, Virginia, says surveys near New Madrid indicate a sub-surface rift in the earth's crust 30 miles wide and 120 miles long.

The 1811-1812 quakes totally demolished New Madrid; however, few people died because few people lived in the stricken area. Should a similar quake strike today, towns from Memphis to St. Louis could be seriously affected, with damage extending as far as to Cincinnati and Kansas City.

A major earthquake in the St. Louis area today, scientists with the Midwest Research Institute in Kansas City say, could cause 630 deaths, 60,000 injuries, and \$1.6 billion property damage in a 15-county region around the New Madrid fault. Such a quake would knock people to the ground, topple chimneys, cause plaster to fall, damage older homes and buildings, uproot pipelines, and twist railroad tracks like corkscrews.

The scientists warn that "geological evidence and the continuously unstable ground level, lead seismologists to believe that the New Madrid fault is one of the few regions in the country highly subject to major destructive earthquakes." Ominously, the report adds, "There is no doubt that earthquakes will happen again in the region."

Unfortunately, many Missouri buildings have almost no resistance to quakes. The grim fact is that most building codes in the eastern U.S. have never incorporated standards practiced in California. A spokesman for the City of St. Louis Building Commissioner's office confirms this, noting that St. Louis,

despite the gloomy prognostications of geologists, is not considered to be located in a vulnerable seismic zone.

California's earthquake-preparedness standards have been recently adopted and provide only a small comfort in the event of a major quake. According to a Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) report, deaths and injuries due to a catastrophic quake in California would occur principally because of the failure of man-made structures, particularly older, multi-story, and unreinforced brick masonry buildings built before the adoption of earthquake-resistant building codes. Some modern multistory buildings—constructed as recently as the late 1960s but not adequately designed or erected—are also subject to failure.

How does a California quake compare to one in Missouri?

Nuttli believes that the 1811-1812 quakes registered 8.0 on the Richter Scale. Each higher number of the scale represents a tenfold increase in energy or magnitude, meaning that a quake that registers 8.0 is ten times stronger than one that registers 7.0. Earthquakes on the west coast and those in the midwest could share the same measurement on the Richter scale but have a much different impact. Nuttli notes that an earthquake at New Madrid measuring 7.0 is equivalent to 8.0 in California. This is because east of the Rocky Mountains, shock waves carry a stronger punch over greater distance. An 8.0 or larger quake is considered a "great quake," or killer quake, capable of tremendous damage. The 1811-1812 quakes shook an area 15 times larger than the area jolted by the 8.3 Frisco quake in 1906.

The infamous San Andreas fault visibly extends from the Imperial Valley at the Mexican border to San Bernadino, California, where it curves west into the San Fernando Valley. North of Los Angeles, the fault resumes a northerly

By Judith Miller and
Mark Miller

not prepared

course and runs into the Pacific west of San Francisco. The fault is certain to give the West Coast a major earthquake, probably in this decade.

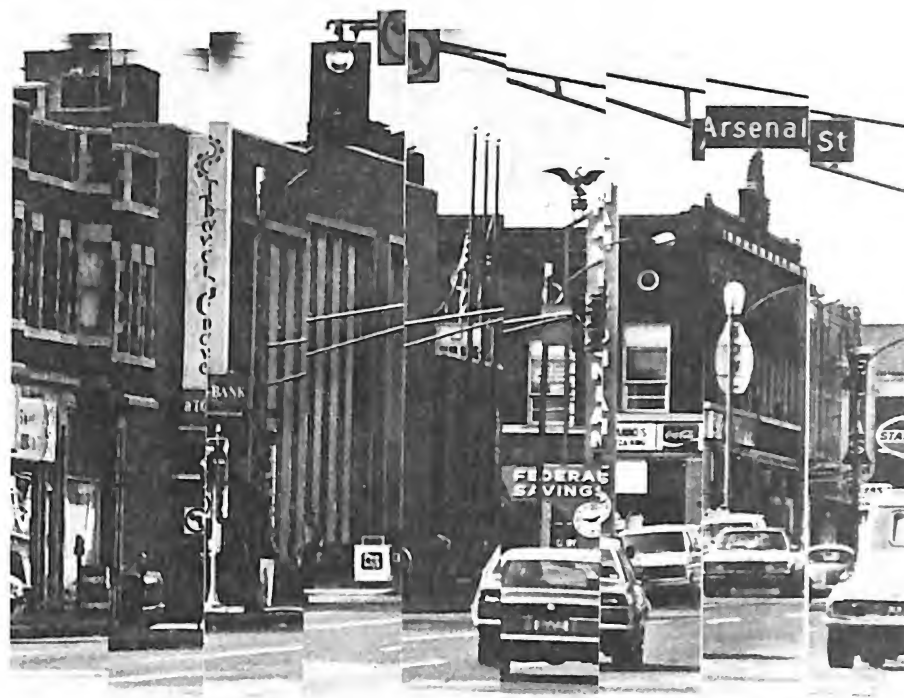
The FEMA report notes, "Earth scientists unanimously agree on the inevitability of major earthquakes in California," and yet, "The nation is . . . unprepared for the catastrophic earthquake (with a probability greater than 50 percent). Preparations are inadequate to cope with the damage and casualties. The United States has not suffered any disaster of this magnitude on its own territory since the Civil War."

The San Andreas fault is the meeting place of two plates of the earth's crust that are grinding against each other. Between the plates, pressure has built up to a level that can only be discharged with great consequence. If that comes at rush hour in Los Angeles, 40 miles from the fault, 20,000 people would die, 100,000 would be injured, and property damage would exceed \$20 million.

Predicting quakes

Obviously, for both Californians and Midwesterners, good reason exists to improve the early detection of quakes. Frank Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) says, "The most advanced countries in earthquake prediction research are China, the Soviet Union, Japan and the United States. Most seismologists in these countries agree that precursory physical changes take place in the earth's crust prior to earthquakes and that these changes will eventually form the basis for an operating earthquake prediction system in many parts of the world."

Although the Chinese claim their program is still in developmental stages, they have achieved several successful predictions. The most dramatic occurred on February 4, 1975 when the Chinese issued a warning five hours before a quake of magnitude 7.3 struck a densely



populated area of Liaoning Province in northeast China. As a result, tens of thousands of lives were saved because they were moved out of their houses before they were devastated.

Forecasting disaster is an ancient occupation, but only in recent years has earthquake prediction split off from soothsaying and astrology to become scientific.

With the theory of plate-tectonics, the distribution of earthquake belts around the world became understandable. Simply put, the earth's outer shell is divided into a dozen shifting plates. Most massive processes of geology—vulcanism, mountain-building, formation of oceanic trenches, earthquakes—happen at or near plate boundaries. Hence, vulnerable areas can be pinpointed, because it is possible to identify dangerous boundaries and estimate the risk.

Another method of prediction has been developed within the past decade. Scientists have noted the phenomena of a rock that is squeezed: it deforms and it swells. This swelling, known as dilatancy, begins when stress reaches about half the breaking strength of the rock. In the mid-1960s, William F. Brace and his colleagues at MIT showed measureable physical changes accompanying dilatancy. Brace suggested that dilatancy might be detectable in the earth's crust and provide a basis for quake prediction. The method is being tested.

In the late 1960s, two Soviet scientists,

A.N. Semenov and I.L. Nersesov, startled the seismological world by claiming that odd variations in the velocity of seismic waves appeared just before quakes in the Garm region of Tadzhikistan. Subsequently, the Russians announced that in earthquake-epicenter regions in Garm, Tashkent, and Kamchatka they had detected changes in electrical resistance and in content of radon in water of deep wells.

Scientists are beginning to rely on new devices to detect quakes. Laser beams bounce off reflectors to record slight elevations in the level of the ground; tilt meters, like carpenter's bevels, detect small tilts in the land.

Cities ignore safety

The probability of a disastrous quake striking Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, and Tennessee makes scientists at the Midwest Research Institute nervous. They fear that cities near the New Madrid fault in the Missouri bootheel, like St. Louis and Memphis, are poorly prepared to deal with a major disaster. The Institute states that "Health care facilities are vital in a time of disaster, but facilities in the New Madrid region will not be sufficient to handle expanded requirements for medical services during a major earthquake. Buildings which house vital facilities needed in time of disaster require earthquake-resistant structures. Unfortunately, practically none of these

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The Day the Mississippi

By Jeanne G. Hawkins

It hit New Madrid, Missouri on December 16, 1811, at 2 in the morning. Settlers ran terror-stricken from tottering and falling buildings to find the earth belching forth great volumes of sand and water. Stores and houses fell into great fissures. The river rose five or six feet in a few minutes. Its color changed to a reddish hue and became thick with mud roiled from its bottom. The surface of the Mississippi was covered with foam and the jets on the shore went higher than the treetops. Within five minutes, the clear serene night became overcast and purplish. The air was filled with a dense, sulphurous vapor that left the inhabitants gasping for breath. The overcast stayed until daybreak; aftershocks (twenty-seven of them) occurring every six to ten minutes accompanied by sudden flashes of fire brought a night full of horror. The fissures ran from southeast to northwest. People felled trees across the direction of cleavage and sat or lay on the trunks to keep from being buried alive. The churchyard with its dead was gone. The great fissures bared the bones of gigantic mastodons and ichthyosaurs.

Between New Madrid and Vick's Plantation, now Vicksburg, there wasn't the sign of a town remaining along the three hundred mile stretch of river. Chimneys were thrown down in Cincinnati. Doors and windows were rattled in Washington, D.C. A church bell rang in Boston and plaster cracked in Virginia and the Carolinas. The three major shocks on Dec. 16, 1811, Jan. 23, 1812, and Feb. 7, 1812 were felt over an area of 1,000,000 square miles. It was felt at the headwaters of the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers and on the Gulf of Mexico and in Canada. Jared Brooks at Louisville recorded 1,874 shocks between Dec. 16th and March 15th. Aftershocks were felt for over a year and it was almost two years before complete cessation.

It had not been a favorable year in the West. Hunters were alarmed when the squirrels started migrating in herds from north to south. There had been heavy spring floods with the accompanying diseases. A comet of intense brilliancy had appeared in September only to disappear the night of the quake. Superstitious backwoods men recalled a total eclipse of the moon in September.

... the crew moored to small islands. One morning they found their mooring line leading down into the water. The whole island had disappeared. . . .

There had been no warning. Fortunately, there was little loss of life because of the thinly populated area. Between the Mississippi and the great plains, Indians reported forests were overthrown and rocks split in two.

An English traveler and botanist, Bradbury, had moored for the night about 150 miles below New Madrid. He was awakened by a tremendous noise. The Mississippi was in such a state of agitation that he feared the boat might upset. The noise he described as being inconceivably loud. "I could hear trees falling and screaming wild fowl, but the boat was still safe at mooring. By the time we got to our fire in the stern, the shock had ceased, but the perpendicular banks both above and below us began to fall into the river in such masses as to nearly sink our boat." They sent men ashore who found a chasm about four feet wide and eighty feet long. The banks had sunk two feet and at the ends of the chasm, they had fallen into the river. Bradbury's party had been saved by mooring to a sloping bank. They embarked when this bank appeared to be moving into the river. Aftershocks made the trees on both sides shake violently and the banks in several places fell, carrying trees with them. "The terrible sound of the shock and the screaming of wild fowl produced the idea that all nature was in a state of dissolution."

Between Cairo, Illinois and the mouths of the White and Arkansas Rivers, the ground rose and fell in great waves, making new lakes, leaving swamps and river beds dry. One of the largest of these earthquake-formed lakes

is Reelfoot Lake in Tennessee, which is sixty to seventy miles long and three to twenty miles wide. Here forest trees had fish swimming through their branches and tortoises crawling through cane brakes. The water is clear as a mountain stream in contrast to the yellow Mississippi water. Lake Eulalie, three hundred yards long and one hundred yards wide, was one of those which disappeared. The whole lake apparently flowed away through two fissures about eight yards apart.

Another severe shock in the morning brought more landslides. The quake caused the Mississippi to run backward for several hours when it raised the river bed at one point. One flatboatman told of seeing the whole river flowing into a fissure, pulling his boat irrevocably toward the falls. He escaped miraculously when the fissure filled or closed and the water met in gigantic waves. His boat was torn to bits, and he clung to the wreckage. Some boatmen chose to drift in the open river instead of tying up where trees and banks came tumbling on top of them. Bradbury reported three boats missing with all hands; many others must have been swallowed up by fissures. It was almost impossible to ascertain the loss of life in such a large, thinly populated area. On at least one boat, the men grabbed their weapons when the quake struck. It was soon after Tippecanoe and the fear of Indians boarding them in the night was very real.

The steamboat *New Orleans* floated on the broad, smooth waters of the Ohio with a relaxed crew. The Nicholas Roosevelt boat was the first of its kind in the West and had just come through the falls of the Ohio below Louisville. Suddenly, the crew and passengers saw the water become waves and the river bluffs crumble and fall. The boat jerked at her anchor. Boats lying alongside the banks were wrecked or cast adrift. At daybreak, as the *New Orleans* approached New Madrid, the air was thick and oppressive. Aboard ship furniture was jarred by repeated shocks. Afraid to moor to the shore at night, the crew moored to small islands. One morning they found their mooring line leading down into the water. The whole island had disappeared. A dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land. The pilot

Mississippi Ran zbr6wkc68

couldn't find the channel.

Other experienced river pilots of the great Ohio and Mississippi routes also found once familiar landmarks had disappeared under water. With islands sometimes completely gone and others hidden under water or changed in shape, the channel was difficult to find. Once the pilot had located it, he had to be wary of treacherous reefs and bars. One crater along the Mississippi was later measured at sixty three feet in diameter and sixteen feet deep. Flint, a geographer, visited the area a few years after the quake and saw hundreds of deep chasms. Coal or near coal had been thrown out. Twenty pound pieces were thrown as far as 160 feet from the craters. The earth had thrown up sand and shale with the bases.

Bungier, an engineer, was on horseback in the region during the quake and observed the shocks advance. The trees bent down, and often in trying to snap back became interlocked and were unable to right themselves. He heard the crashing noise of countless branches. Powerful jets of water filled with sand, loam, and rock spewed up out of the earth and would have killed both horse and rider had the ground burst immediately beneath them. Many of the more destructive shocks were horizontal or moved in waves across the area while others were perpendicular.

A typical faint, dull, rumbling, rushing noise preceded the worst shock on Feb. 7th. The earth was in constant oscillation for several days. On a boat anchored thirteen miles above New Madrid, a patron reported he was awakened by a tremendous roaring noise. He related the experience to William Shaler who wrote of it in a letter. The vessel shook violently. Trees fell in every direction; those standing were shaking like reeds. Sparks of fire shot from the ground. The crew immediately cut cable and put off into midstream where they found the current running backward. They were carried upstream for about one minute "with the velocity of the swiftest horse." When the current resumed its course, they continued downstream and at dawn came to a falls at least six feet deep extending across the river and about one half mile wide. Whirls and ripples made navigation

nearly impossible and destruction seemed imminent. Some whirls were at least thirty feet deep and seemed to be formed by water being sucked into a chasm. Whole forests were flattened. New Madrid had sunk twelve feet below its level and was entirely deserted. Only two boats out of thirty had escaped destruction there. One fully loaded barge had been split in two and turned upside down.

Another falls was formed about eight miles below New Madrid, and it took five days for the river to wear it away. All during this time, the earth trembled at five-minute intervals.

This reversion of current and formation of falls or barriers were, according to geologist N. S. Shaler, "among the most surprising results of earthquake action ever recorded." He also stated that the occurrence of such a shock in a region like the Mississippi Valley is probably unprecedented in the history of earthquakes. But "many of the events of that convulsion were without parallel."

Earthquakes sometimes occur in pairs. The first shock of the New Madrid

earthquake occurred on the same night as the famous Caracas quake where thousands were killed. It is doubtful that those more fatal shocks were nearly as violent as those of the New Madrid quake.

Indian lore, geological evidence, and history show the area to have an earthquake history. This is not surprising to geologists who believe the Appalachian chain continues beneath a sedimentary veneer and reappears as mountains in Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Seismically, the most active regions in the eastern United States are along the middle part of the Mississippi River in the earthquake area named after the river. Shocks have been reported previous to 1811; in 1776 and 1791. In Kaskaskia, Ill., in 1795, there was a quake; in 1796, in Niagara Falls; in 1804 in Chicago, all in this area. There have been many minor ones since. While there is reason to anticipate a recurrence which could cause serious damage to such places as Cairo, Memphis and St. Louis, it is well to remember that no place on earth is earthquake proof.

Earthquake in St. Louis?

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facilities in the area are designed for earthquake resistance."

Casualty figures and property loss could be reduced by tougher building codes, construction bans along fault lines, and adequate emergency planning.

In seismically active states, scientists say, land-use planning is often inadequate, with no protection of vital communications and transportation systems.

Critics charge that regulations don't require sufficient emergency planning and limiting construction on fault lines. Perhaps the fear of depressed real estate values and postponed construction in such areas stifles serious consideration of such laws.

If planners would place greater emphasis on safety than on real estate values and construction costs, methods exist to help. Explains earthquake expert Gilbert F. White of the University of Colorado, "Of all the potential mechanisms to cope with earthquakes, the simplest and most direct would be the

avoidance of high-risk areas wherever economically practicable." Of course, cities such as San Francisco or St. Louis cannot be relocated; and undeveloped high-risk areas may be potentially very valuable (as in some parts of the San Francisco Bay area).

Despite these obstacles, two courses of action can be taken, according to White. First, risk-zoning of particularly hazardous parts of the already-developed areas to turn them into park land or other nonhazardous use if the opportunity arises. Second, risk-zoning of high-risk, undeveloped areas to prevent future hazardous development.

The main cause of casualties during a quake is building collapse. Experts believe the technology exists to construct "earthquake-proof" structures, but the consensus is that they "cost too much." The cost of death and human suffering may turn out to cost much more.

Judith and Mark Miller are freelance writers.

EPA Sanctions

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whittle down because some counties have come into compliance since they were designated as non-attainment areas months or even years ago.

The areas remaining on the list by Dec. 31 will be presumed to be out of compliance unless states present evidence to the contrary, according to a Nov. 18 draft memo sent by EPA Assistant Administrator Kathleen M. Bennett to the agency's regional administrators.

But before EPA can impose sanctions, it must formally find the state plan for that area "inadequate." The memo says EPA will propose such findings for all non-attainment areas by Jan. 31, 1983.

EPA will divide non-attainment areas into two groups: those which can

achieve compliance quickly, and those which cannot. The agency plans to delay any final action on the first group "until the supporting data can be gathered and evaluated, and until the area can be formally redesignated."

To know for sure which areas will meet the standards by Dec. 31, EPA will need the most recent air quality data compiled by the states. EPA normally receives the information about three months after the states do. Under its draft plan, however, EPA does not intend to wait for that data before putting the sanction machinery into motion.

But even after EPA publishes a preliminary notice that it finds certain areas' plans inadequate, legal procedural requirements mean that several months must pass before the finding can be made final and for sanctions to be imposed.

Furthermore, not all non-attainment areas automatically face sanctions; it depends on what pollutants are putting

them in violation. The law allows further extensions until Dec. 31, 1987, under certain strict conditions, for areas violating standards for ozone and carbon monoxide.

The following Missouri and Illinois counties are on the EPA's list of those not in compliance with the Clean Air Act:

Illinois: Adams, Boone, Cook, De Kalb, DuPage, Grundy, Jo Daviess, Kane*, Kankakee, Kendall, Knox, Lake*, La Salle, McHenry*, Macon, Madison, Monroe*, Peoria, Rock Island, St. Clair, Sangamon, Tazewell, Will, Williamson.

Missouri: Buchanan, Clay, Franklin*, Jackson, Jefferson*, Platte, St. Charles*, St. Louis Co., St. Louis.

**Granted an extension until Dec. 31, 1987, provided certain ongoing EPA conditions are met.*

Bilingual

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for language minority students.

The Administration's amendments, Bell noted, "confirmed our belief that school districts are in the best position to evaluate the needs of their students and to design programs in response to those needs." The legislation, he added, would allow school districts "to propose programs which use both languages or which use English exclusively. Whatever a school district proposes would be justified on the basis of an assessment of the needs of the children present in the district."

What Bell didn't tell the subcommittee was that the Administration is also willing to give school districts the power to police themselves by advocating a "means" test to measure civil rights compliance. Under a "means" test, a school district's bilingual program would be judged within the law if the district can show it took "reasonable steps" to meet the needs of its language minority students.

It is this approach that makes the events in Illinois so alarming. If the federal government adopts the means test, and Illinois decides to allow school districts to choose their own bilingual programs, it will become virtually impossible to guarantee civil rights compliance. There will be, in short, no one left to mind the store.

Bilingual education has always attracted controversy; it is an issue continually beset by arguments that range from

the appropriateness of its methodology to fears that its promotion of native language and culture will encourage national divisiveness. The paranoia generated by the latter has even made its way into the United States Senate, where S.I. Haywakawa (D., Cal.), the sponsor of the Administration's bilingual legislation, warned his colleagues of the grave consequences of the transitional bilingual approach.

"Demographic research tells us that in some of our states, 10 to 20 years from now there will be a majority of individuals with Spanish background," Haywakawa told a Senate subcommittee earlier this year. "It seems to me that we are preparing the ground for permanently and officially bilingual states. From here to a separatist movement a la Quebec would be the final step. Is this the development which we want to promote?"

Such talk is nonsensical, but it does

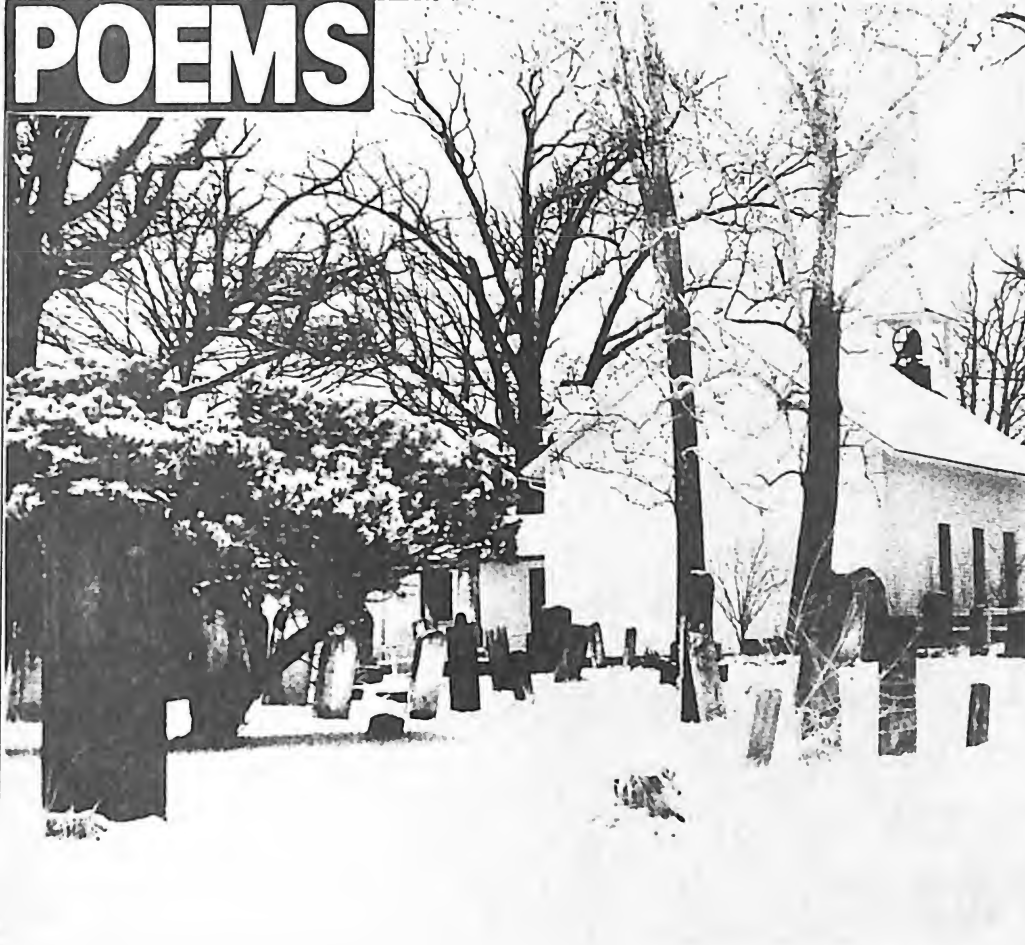
serve to indicate the depth of feeling that the subject of bilingual education often arouses. It is clear that school districts will not immediately rush out to dismantle their bilingual program if Illinois gives them the right to do so. But some school districts, faced with tight budgets and limited resources, may well decide to do less, while others, free from Washington's persistent prodding, might continue doing nothing at all. In this context, bilingual education becomes more than an argument over methodology; rather, it is a question of whether government will continue to demand that school districts provide an equitable education for children whose only difference from their classmates is the language they speak.

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POEMS



An Elegy at Sixty Miles Per Hour/ *Terry Savoie*

Suddenly a gravesite:
no yews, no statues, no
iron gates. A machine
shed to the north
and perhaps twenty-five
flatstones scattered
like loose seed over
the fence. Men
lie there
in jimson and pigweed.

**|Simon Perchik*

I wait for leftovers, my fingers
swollen—through this room
they squirm for endings
for the damaged :the window shade
jammed down :no slash
will drain these walls. It's habit.

Between the window and its shade
I wait for night, a sky
charred by stars :ashes
clutch each other :street lamps
heaped where my city was.

What a skeleton! the flesh
still in my mouth, leaks. It's over

except the breathing, the cough
from a shade that can't rise by itself
can't empty all it's eaten
all the cracked glass, the cheeks
the hair—even my hair! devoured.

Every night I wait for my bones :beacons
lit by that first sunrise :leftovers
to brighten the box other fires will forget.



Missouri and Illinois Congressional votes

continued from page 8

case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

(L) H J Res 631. Poverty Aid. Simon, D-Ill., amendment to require that at least 50 percent of Agency for International Development bilateral assistance funds be used to finance projects that benefits those living in absolute poverty. Adopted 227-184: R 48-136; D 179-48 (ND 133-20, SD 46-28), Dec. 14, 1982. A "nay" supports the president.

(M) H J Res 631. Pay Raise. Fazio, D-Calif., amendment to increase pay for members of Congress by 15 percent, to \$69,800, and to provide pay increases of varying percentages for senior-level federal officials and employees. Adopted 303-109: R 106-78; D 197-31 (ND 133-20, SD 64-11), Dec. 14, 1982.

(N) H J Res 631. Jobs and Radio Liberty. Conte, R-Mass., motion to recommit the joint resolution to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to delete jobs program funding (Title II) and add \$44 million in funding for Radio Liberty. Motion rejected 191-215: R 171-7; D 20-208 (ND 2-150, SD 18-58), Dec. 14, 1982. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(O) HR 5133. Automobile Domestic Content Requirements. Fenwick, R-N.J., amendment to stipulate that the provisions of the bill do not supersede the requirements of international treaties, conventions or agreements on tariffs and trade. Adopted 195-194: R 137-32; D 58-162 (ND 20-128, SD 38-34), Dec. 15, 1982.

(P) HR 5133. Automobile Domestic Content Requirements. Passage of the bill to require automakers to use set percentages of U.S. labor and parts in

automobiles they sell in the United States. Passed 215-188: R 44-130; D 171-58 (ND 132-20, SD 39-38), Dec. 15, 1982. A "nay" supports the president.

SENATE

(A) HR 7019. Wider Trucks Upheld. Eagleton, (D,Mo.), amendment to strike a provision of the bill that would require states to allow 102-inch-wide trucks on the highways in order to receive funds under the bill. Rejected 31-62: R 13-37; D 18-25, Dec. 2, 1982.

(B) S Res 501. Polish Solidarity Day. Adoption of the resolution to urge the president to declare Dec. 12 as a national day of solidarity with and prayer for the Polish people. Dec. 12 was the eve of the first anniversary of the declaration of martial law in Poland. Adopted 96-0: R 52-0; D 44-0, Dec. 7, 1982.

(C) HR 7144. District of Columbia Appropriations. Fiscal 1983. Passage of the bill to appropriate \$573 million in federal funds and \$2.007 billion in local revenues for the District of Columbia in fiscal 1983. Passed 71-22: R 34-16; D 37-6.

(D) Feldstein Nomination. Confirmation of President Reagan's nomination of Martin S. Feldstein of Massachusetts to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisors, thus replacing Murray Weidenbaum of St. Louis who resigned. Confirmed 77-18: R 51-0; D 26-18.

(E) HR 6211. Cloture on Transportation Assistance Act of 1982. Baker, R-Tenn., motion to invoke cloture (this limiting debate) on the Baker motion to proceed to consideration of the bill to authorize highway and transit funding and increase highway taxes. Motion agreed to 75-13: R 43-6; D 32-7 (ND 20-4, SD 12-3),

Dec. 13, 1982. A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to invoke cloture.

(F) S Res 512. Outside Income of Senators. Adoption of the resolution to abolish the limit in the Senate rules on the total income senators may receive from outside sources, including money for speeches and articles. Adopted 54-38: R 39-12; D 15-26 (ND 9-19, SD 6-7), Dec. 14, 1982.

(G) HR 6211. Job and Unemployment Program. Byrd, D-W.Va., amendment to establish a job creation and extended unemployment compensation program costing \$5.3 billion in fiscal 1983; delay the scheduled July 1983 income tax cut for upper-income taxpayers; and eliminate the 5-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax increase contained in the bill. Rejected 44-53: R 1-51; D 43-2 (ND 30-0, SD 13-2), Dec. 14, 1982. A "nay" supports the president.

(H) HR 6211. Advance Tax Cut. Bentsen, D-Texas, amendment to advance the effective date of the 1983 income tax cut to April 1, from July 1, and to defer 5 percent of the cut until there is no deficit in the annual federal budget. Rejected 40-54: R 1-49; D 39-5 (ND 26-3, SD 13-2), Dec. 14, 1982.

(I) HR 6211. Buy American. Baker, R-Tenn., motion to table (kill) the Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to require that only steel and cement manufactured in the United States be used in construction and repair of highways and bridges. Motion agreed to 51-47: R 39-13; D 12-34 (ND 8-23, SD 4-11), Dec. 15, 1982.

(J) HR 6211. Additional Unemployment Compensation. Dole, R-Kan., motion to table (kill) the Levin, D-Mich., amendment to provide for an additional two to five weeks of federal supplemental unemployment compensation. Motion rejected 47-50: R 44-9; D 3-41 (ND 2-27, SD 1-14), Dec. 16, 1982.

(K) HR 6211. Additional Unemployment Compensation. Dole, R-Kan., amendment to provide for an additional two to six weeks of federal supplemental unemployment compensation. Adopted 93-4: R 49-3; D 44-1 (ND 30-0, SD 14-1), Dec. 16, 1982.

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